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LEBANON

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Near East & South Asia

LEBANON

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Internal Affairs

Raymond Iddih, Michel 'Awn Interviewed Iddih on Elections, 'Awn

92AE0561A Beirut AL-SHIRA' in Arabic 13 Jul 92 pp 27-31

[Interview with National Bloc leader Raymond Iddih by Muhammad Hijazi on Monday, 6 July 1992, at Queen Elizabeth Hotel in Paris: "Four Hours of Written Interview Without Testimony of Tape Recorder"; "Raymond Iddih: I Abandoned 'Awn When He Supported al-Ta'if"]

[Text] [Box, p 1] Doyen and General Confront Each Other Across AL-SHIRA'

We didn't mean for the two men to confront each other across AL-SHIRA' because their confrontation already exists in their open movements and their movements behind the curtains. But their speech assumes a confrontational meaning from the titles they bear: military general and civilian doyen.

Raymond Iddih faults his neighbor who is exiled in Marseilles for neither winning nor committing suicide in his final battle before he fell, capitulated to the amnesty law, and agreed to the al-Ta'if [Accord].

General Michel 'Awn is not interested in the least in dealing with his adversary by way of fiery statements and positions. He rejects the notion of opening the door to verbal warfare, expressing the opinion that the issue is a one-sided arguement.

What is interesting is that the common denominator between the doyen and the general is the elections. They both call for boycotting them. Though we have observed on the spot how the doyen wages this battle behind the scenes, arming himself with his district's voter lists, circumstances do not permit us to observe on the spot how credible is the general's boycott of the elections. In any case, the election date is approaching fast and the train is making its stops so that those who are ready may board. Those who boycott will have to wait for a full session before it returns.

Both men criticize, attack, and discuss with absolute confidence their popularity. They are disinterested in the presidency of the republic and they believe that the touchstone is a popular referendum that might elevate them to the tempting chair of the Maronite leadership, despite firm opposition to their being cast in a role contributing to political sectarianism, and in spite of their preference for comprehensive national representation instead of isolation within the denominational or factional ghetto.

Moreover, neither man belongs to the partisan and militia-oriented school that characterized the Christian side throughout the recent war. The political hostility between the National Bloc leader and the Phalangists is equaled by the entrenched military hostility between the general and the Lebanese Forces. Simultaneously, they both paint the sphere of their influence over the Lebanese arena from their voluntary and compulsory exiles in Paris and Marseilles. But they turn down any endeavor to reserve a place for them in the Lebanese political equation.

Their responses to our questions is what they would say in direct debate before our readers.

Iddih Interview-Paris

His answers are explosive. He doesn't need somebody to provoke him in order to spill his guts. The years haven't eliminated the marks of his elegance—a dark blue jacket and white pants.

"I like you at AL-SHIRA' because you are daring." It is with this phrase that the doyen initiated his conversation with us when we called him for the first time. We made an appointment for 18:30 PM last Monday at his private suite on the seventh floor of the Queen Elizabeth Hotel. We arrived 20 minutes late because of traffic problems and he opened his heart to us until 22:30 PM in the presence of his party official in Jubayl District.

He refused to allow the interview to be recorded. He took our recorder, made sure that it was off, and put it on a couch close to him, saying: "This makes me tense. I want no recording. Let us talk in comfort and I will see what you write." Though he had made it conditional that he be shown the text of the interview before it is published, our commitments in Paris didn't permit us to meet with him there to fulfill our promise. However, we rely on our professional honesty in conveying what took place between us.

Lebanon's geography has a strong presence in his salon: an 1860 population distribution map, which shows that Maronites were the absolute majority, a relief showing the positions where the UNIFIL are deployed in South Lebnaon, and a painting showing the old market in the town of Byblos [Jubayl] which he restored when he served in the cabinet. Yet, he didn't get 100 votes from the Byblos population in the elections that were held at that time. His photograph as an infant sitting in his father's lap is placed atop the television set. He repeatedly opened a safe positioned behind him and stacked with files, references, and documents to determine some dates or to check some provisions verbatim, especially provisions concerning the al-Ta'if accord.

Very Tired

"What are we going to talk about?" This is the phrase he uttered even before we started asking questions. Because we had noticed that we had gotten to him without any precautionary security measures, we hastened to say:

[Hijazi] You seem to be an ordinary guest at a quiet hotel in the Champs Elysees.

[Iddih] What do you mean?

[Hijazi] There are no guards and no inspection to protect your life.

[Iddih] There is no need. I am not a murderer and not a thief and I haven't betrayed my country. If somebody wants to kill me, he will bring me relief because I have reached an age at which "death befits me."

[Hijazi] It sounds as if you are "tired" of your life?

[Iddih] Physically, I am not. Politically, I am "very tired."

[Hijazi] Of Lebanese politics?

[Iddih] Of course, because the Lebanese people, both poor and rich, are intelligent. They have accepted everything that has happened in Lebnaon since 1973 and since 1975 and 1976, of course. You have seen how the intellectuals have condoned all excesses by the criminals

and the traitors, how they hailed the Syrian Army when it entered Lebanon at the end of 1976 at the request of the Phalanges Party, and how they greeted the Israeli Army which marched from the south to Beirut on 5 June 1982 at the request of [the late] President Camille Sham'un. Despite the Israeli Army's actions, this faction of intellectuals was vying in "extending invitations" to Israeli officers.

[Hijazi] And now?

[Iddih] The situation remains as it was in the past. We have very many popular proverbs in Lebanon, such as: "Whoever marries my mother becomes my uncle"; and "Kiss the hand you cannot break and implore God to break it for you." A most interesting thing is that when I objected to a certain position from my people, the answer they would give me was: "Doyen, an eye cannot resist an awl." All these proverbs are an indication of a distant, deep-rooted, and old history. The Lebanese people are durable. When they can endure no more, they emigrate. For 150 years, the majority of Lebanese emigrants have been going to Australia, the United States, Canada, and Argentina.

[Hijazi] You haven't mentioned France.

[Iddih] To France, it isn't emigration.

[Hijazi] So what is it?

[Iddih] It is a visit. France is close. Historically, the Lebanese moved far away. In recent years, they have discovered Canada and everybody seeks to get a [foreign] passport because our Lebanese passport creates problems.

Al-Sadat

[Hijazi] And what is your position here?

[Iddih] I have taken refuge here voluntarily in the wake of two attempts on my life. The credit for my being here and for my leaving Beirut goes to President Anwar al-Sadat, may God have mercy on him. Today, President Boudiaf was assassinated on his platform in the same manner

[Hijazi] What has al-Sadat got to do with it?

[Iddih] In the wake of the second attempt on my life on 11 December 1976.. [Here he took out from one of the files behind him a number of old editions of AL-NAHAR showing the marks left by bullets fired at his car and he told us how he managed to survive by crawling on his knees, saying, "It would have been scandalous if somebody had taken pictures of me crawling on the ground.."] ..the Egyptian ambassador in Beirut visited me and handed me an invitation from President al-Sadat to visit Egypt. I accepted, of course. He hosted me warmly and he put at my disposal a hovercraft which had been used by President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir, may God have mercy on him, and which had been presented to him as a gift from U.S. President Richard Nixon. We visited Abu Sunbul. I also visited the sites of the great battle which the Egyptian Army waged in 1973, meaning the Bar-lev line.

[Hijazi] Haven't we gotten to the end yet?

[Iddih] "I am getting there." Before coming back, I paid a thank-you visit to President al-Sadat. At the time I had to wait three-quarters of an hour to meet him because he

was in a meeting with Abu-'Ammar that just wouldn't end. During their garden meeting, I noticed that al-Sadat stood several times and then sat down again because Abu-'Ammar wouldn't end whatever he was saying. I then shook hands with the president, and I had Party Secretary Antoine Abi-Zayd with me. Abu-'Ammar approached to embrace me and said with a laugh, "For the sake of the Palestinians, I don't wish to start a fight with the Phalangists." He stood up [to leave] and I said to al-Sadat: "Don't let him embrace you because Egypt will disappear." When I expressed my wish to depart after my meeting with al-Sadat, he asked me, "Where to?" And I said to my country. Al-Sadat hastened to say, "Impossible." He then showed me a piece of paper handed to him by Muhammad, his aide, who had taken it out of a briefcase. Handwritten on the paper were my name and the names of Kamal Junblatt, Pierre al-Jumayyil, Camille Sham'un, Rashid Karami, and everybody who had an influential role at the time. I told al-Sadat that Kamal Junblatt "had beaten him to it" and had shown me the list when he visited me one night in October 1976. Al-Sadat then said to me that the third attempt [on my life] wouldn't fail. Because I was going to make a stop in France, he entrusted me to perform a task for him with his friends.

[Hijazi] And you stayed in Paris?

[Iddih] I wanted two weeks for rest and then I realized that I could do what I want to do here easily. I have believed that Lebnaon cannot be saved from within. We must get the Security Council, a group of countries, or one country to agree to intervene to liberate Lebanon.

Doyen of Exiled

[Hijazi] You continue to work alone. Why don't you lead or take part in a political front?

[Iddih] To begin, I am a party chairman. So I am not alone. The party is in constant contact with me. Regrettably, they can contact me by phone. I prefer George Sa'adah, (nicknamed Mercedes), who doesn't want to restore the telephone lines [so] I cannot contact the party people. [He recounted to us an anecdote about Mercedes which he asked us not to publish.]

[Hijazi] In one way or another, you are considered now the doyen of Maronite exiles in France.

[Iddih] Yes, certainly I am considered so. But I am not their doyen.

[Hijazi] What I mean by seniority is that "you are older."

[Iddih] My exile is voluntary. Unlike others, I am not a political refugee. The proof is that I can say what I want to journalists and to broadcasting stations when I am asked to talk to them.

[Hijazi] Why haven't you formed a political front with some of those who arrived here after you?

[Iddih] Whom do you mean?

[Hijazi] I mean General Michel 'Awn especially.

[Iddih] He has just arrived.

[Hijazi] Do you mean that it is "too early" or what?

[Iddih] I have told the press repeatedly that I supported 'Awn for two whole years, but then abandoned him when he refused to deny a statement he had made to the LE

FIGARO on 11 October, i.e., two days before B'abda and al-Fayyadiyah were hit on the 13th of the same month. At the time, he told the press in response to a question that he supported the al-Ta'if Accord and the cabinet emanating from it. I asked Marcel Butrus, 'Awn's representative here, to convey to 'Awn my request that he deny the statements he had made. But 'Awn didn't deny them and so I abandoned him because I have been, and continue to be, opposed to the al-Ta'if Accord.

[Hijazi] Is this decision final?

[Iddih] I have never spoken to him.

[Hijazi] Don't you plan to change your position?

[Iddih] Sir, I haven't asked for anything. All I have asked for is a denial and "then we will see." He doesn't plan to deny, not because he doesn't wish to deny but because the paper has his recorded statement. The main thing for which I fault 'Awn is that he acknowledged the al-Ta'if accord and agreed to submit to the amnesty law. I also fault him for taking refuge in the French Embassy instead of staying at the head of his army in al-Fayyadiyah. I told the general through the Lebanese press, "You have to triumph or commit suicide." He is a soldier and the army was under his command.

[Hijazi] How do you see your political future in Lebanon?

[Iddih] God alone determines everybody's future.

[Hijazi] Don't you envision a certain position?

[Iddih] I am a deputy and a party chairman now. When I talk to people or to some officials, they realize that I talk to them in this capacity.

[Hijazi] Why have you rejected the mediation for a Maronite reconciliation?

[Iddih] I have rejected the reconciliation because my party has no militia and because it hasn't fought anybody. Reconciliation is for people who have fought each other, such as Michel 'Awn and Samir Ja'ja'.

[Hijazi] Whoever has kept up with your statements finds out that you criticize the first and attack the second.

[Iddih] Because I am a politician. To defend my country, the constitution has given me, as it has given every deputy, something called immunity so that a deputy can criticize and can tell a cabinet minister, for example, "You have stolen," and another minister "You have killed," without allowing these ministers to take me to court. Regarding Samir Ja'ja', I listed for him on 20 May 1992 several crimes which he had committed and which are known to everybody. He didn't dare answer a single one of the 11 questions I addressed to him.

[Hijazi] Do these words of yours mean shutting the door in the face of any possible Maronite reconciliation?

[Iddih] There is a mistake which the late President Fu'ad Shihab made. When I was a cabinet minister holding several portfolios, Shihab said that we must turn over the leaf of the past. I said that if we turned over the leaf of the past without bringing to trial the people responsible for it, we would open the door for a rebellion similar to the 1958 rebellion, but on a larger scale and, perhaps, lasting for years. Shihab said to me at the time that if we wanted to sue people then we would have had to sue

'Abd-al-Hamid al-Sarraj who was sending weapons to some Lebanese organizations. I could have resigned at the time. The rebellion could have erupted anew if it hadn't been for the good relations developed between Presidents Shihab and Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir. But I stayed in the cabinet at the time and resigned a year later (even though I controlled the ministries of interior and defense) for numerous reasons, including the army's interference in the separate election held in al-Shuf in 1969.

[Hijazi] And what do you propose?

[Iddih] In France, for example, a person is brought to trial if he violates the law, regardless of how high his position. During General de Gaulle's administration, for example, General Petain was tried and sentenced to death. But Prime Minister Lavare reduced the sentence to a life term because of the general's old age. This is why French politicians haven't dared steal, murder, or commit other crimes. The penal code will be applied to them sooner or later. But in our country, one is allowed to steal "because he is a minister." Because one is an official, he is allowed to commit treason, to have relations with the enemy, and to raise arms against his countrymen, without being brought to trial. Those who have committed treason, plundered, and murdered have become ministers and have been appointed deputies, thanks to President (Ilyas) al-Harawi. Perhaps from now on a father will think it is better for his son to train on weapons and prepare to become a bully, instead of working for a high degree with which he starves to death. Those who have employed arms have become the wealthiest in Lebanon.

[Hijazi] So you are proposing that whoever headed an armed faction be brought to trial.

[Iddih] Yes, I demand that these people be brought to trial. (With a sardonic smile:) But there is an amnesty law.

[Hijazi] So concessions are required of all?

[Iddih] Brother, let the others get reconciled. My party hasn't murdered and it hasn't committed treason. It hasn't collected protection money and hasn't levied taxes or fees on the Lebanese. My party has been and will continue to be an upright democratic national party.

[Hijazi] But political Maronism lacks an authority or a leadership at present.

[Iddih] I hate the phrase "political Maronism" and I don't know what it means. All my life, I have been for separating church and state. I am the one who proposed the civil marriage draft law. The Christians accepted it but the Muslims rejected it, even though these same Muslims approve of any civil marriage concluded outside Lebanon and recorded in the vital statistics department. This is strange and I don't understand it. If Fatimah [Muslim] marries Butrus [Christian] in Cyprus or if Georgette [Christian] marries Khalid [Muslim] in Turkey, then it is permissible!

[Hijazi] What about the Christian authority or leadership?

[Iddih] The word "leadership" is insipid.

[Hijazi] So?

[Iddih] In civilized countries, a politician is either a cabinet minister, a party chairman, or an ex-president. These are names.

[Hijazi] It is as if you are evading an answer.

[Iddih] Listen, there are people who have played a role in politics and who are still alive. You wish to call them leaders, so be it. But I don't know what you want me to tell you.

[Hijazi] What we want to know is the reason that stops you from contributing to Christian reunification in Lebanon.

[Iddih] I prefer to have the support of the Lebanese or of part of them. I am not disavowing my Christianity, but I prefer the support of the Lebanese [regardless of sect] even though the al-Ta'if Accord has entrenched sectarianism.

Rejection

[Hijazi] You are called the primary and main rejectionist. Till when?

[Iddih] In my political life, I have been a rejectionist several times because rejection was in Lebanon's interest. I will cite two examples to you. I and my party, the National Bloc, rejected the Cairo agreement. I and my party deputies, who included a Shi'ite deputy (Ahmad Asbar), voted against the agreement.

[Hijazi] And the second example?

[Iddih] I published several articles in France against the 17 May 1983 agreement with Israel. A majority of the Chamber of Deputies, both Christians and Muslims, voted for that agreement. As I have already said, the same chamber voted against both agreements afterward. I congratulated Chamber of Deputies Speaker Husayn al-Husayni who picked the right time to propose the bill calling for abolishing these two agreements.

[Hijazi] "When will it end with the doyen?" This is the question that we and others ask.

[Iddih] There is a Greek president called Constantine (Karamallis). He sought asylum in Paris in the wake of his dispute with the palace in 1963 during the colonels' administration. He later became president of the republic. This is what history says.

[Hijazi] It is as if you liken yourself to him.

[Iddih] I have said that I will not return to my country before the Israeli Army withdraws because as long as this army continues to occupy Lebanon, the Syrian Army will continue to be present there. Moreover, no president, no cabinet, and no Chamber of Deputies has succeeded in developing solutions for the political, fiscal, or social problems.

[Hijazi] Your constant rejection has undermined your party. For example, you refused to form a militia, despite your capacity as doyen.

[Iddih] Yes, I refused, and a large number of youth abandoned my party and joined the Liberal Party because they considered it a lesser evil to join it than to join the Phalangist Party, our traditional adversary.

[Hijazi] Is it still?

[Iddih] Of course, as long as George Sa'adah is the Phalangist Party chairman. He was the spring of activity in al-Ta'if. I believe that he (meaning Sa'adah) will be perhaps selected...

[Hijazi] Would the situation be better if Samir Ja'ja' gained the party chairmanship?

[Iddih] It would be worse.

[Hijazi] It is evident that nobody pleases you.

[Iddih] There was a large number of deputies whom I respected, and there are still deputies whom I respect.

[Hijazi] This is a golden opportunity to introduce them to us.

[Iddih] I will not mention their names so I "will not leave them exposed." I am opposed to every politician and every president whose policy is not Lebanese policy. I am Lebanese and my party is 100 percent Lebanese, and let "those who like it join me and those who don't like it fight me." I accept criticism. But if anybody says or writes that I have stolen without saying what I have stolen, then I will sue him for libel and slander. This is easy for me because I have a law practice. I haven't killed and haven't given orders for anybody to be killed. I haven't betrayed and haven't instructed anybody to contact Israel, unlike some parties which continue to have contacts with Israel, "and you are intelligent enough to understand."

[Hijazi] You speak of your party with great confidence. But it doesn't have a strong presence in the arena. Why?

[Iddih] With respect to the Phalangists primarily, the Lebanese came to consider the party as whoever had a private militia, from the time prior to 1970 and up to the period after 1976. I will present this picture to you and I ask you to tell me whether it represents the Lebanese Army or one of the militias. I may mislead you but I will then tell you the truth. [He turned around and picked up a file containing an edition of the REVUE DU LIBAN issued on 22 November 1986 and containing a two-page article, with a photograph of a regular military parade inserted atop the article. The uniforms were very similar to those worn by the Lebanese Army and the parade was being reviewed by ex-President Amin al-Jumayyil who was surrounded by Phalangist Party leaders, particularly George Sa'adah and Samir Ja'ja'. After we examined the photograph, he posed a question.] ...Can you tell me what you see?

[Hijazi] A Lebanese Forces parade.

[Iddih] How can you tell?

[Hijazi] The Phalangist's cedar is in the background. But the picture is misleading.

[Iddih] Do you know who leads the force in the parade?

[Hijazi] No.

[Iddih] He is ex-President Amin al-Jumayyil's son. We are a party with a presence, and the proof is that we, like others, had six deputies in the past.

[Hijazi] And currently?

[Iddih] I am the only one.

Election Campaign

[Hijazi] Do you expect a certain number of party candidates to win in the anticipated election?

[Iddih] For the tenth time I will say that I am opposed to holding the elections now. I am for postponing them.

[Hijazi] And if they are held?

[Iddih] See a fortune teller and she will tell you.

[Hijazi] But you will enter the electoral race?

[Iddih] I haven't decided yet.

[Hijazi] (Because we saw on a sofa somewhat far from where we were sitting a stack of papers topped by a small piece of paper on which was written "list of male voters" and because we read the names of two members from the Sufayr family with the word "Maronite" written next to them, we proceeded to ask him): But you are keeping a voters list here on the sofa and it seems that you have been examining it. How could you reject the elections openly and then work for them behind the scenes?

[Iddih] First, I congratulate you on your eyesight and, second, it isn't just a list of male voters but also of female voters.

[Hijazi] How can you justify this situation?

[Iddih] Sir, these are the party lists. The party is always prepared for elections, regardless of whether it does or doesn't participate in them. I, as party chairman, am supposed to have a complete file of the elections and the lists. Yet, I demand that the elections be postponed.

[Hijazi] And what are you afraid of?

[Iddih] Of the outcome. I urge the Lebanese people to ask their representatives that they demand in turn that the elections be postponed because if they are held at present, the next parliamentary assembly will perhaps wipe out Lebanon's sovereignty.

[Hijazi] You demand postponement. What will change if they are postponed?

[Iddih] I demand it because elections may not be held when the southern part of the country is occupied by Israel. Even though you are from the south, I can tell you that I know the south better than you do. I have known it since my youth when I hunted there. I also came to know it as a politician, considering that I went to visit it whenever the Israeli Army or Israeli Air Force hit it. I am the only politician to take with him in his car two U.S. ambassadors to the south, namely Mr. Maclintock and Mr. Goodly. Perhaps inhabitants of the border villages all the way to Marun al-Ra's village remember my visit to their villages with the U.S. ambassador. I used to take U.S. ambassadors with me so they would see for themselves the devastation suffered by people in the south when the Israelis blew up the villagers' homes because Palestinians would place in front of a villager's house a timed bazooka which would fire at specific times. I will ask you a question which I often addressed to the Chamber of Deputies and which ex-Speaker (Kamil) al-As'ad couldn't answer, namely: Where does al-Wazzanah Spring emanate? Do you know?

[Hijazi] No.

[Iddih] No, no! Does this mean that you are from Paris?

[Hijazi] The Israeli danger has always existed. So why don't we at least put our domestic affairs in order?

[Iddih] My father used to tell me that the danger would come from the south.

[Hijazi] You have spoken of an Israeli danger but you haven't mentioned the [Israeli] ambitions.

[Iddih] My father had a disagreement with Chaim Weizmann, who later became head of the Jewish Agency, in France. Weizmann demanded that Lebanon's southern borders be set at al-Litani River because Zionism was thinking of its future even at that time. This is the difference between Jews and Arabs who don't think of the distant future. Of course, the Lebanese delegation rejected this projection. My father said repeatedly that Israel would occupy Lebanon all the way to al-Litani so it can exploit part of the river water. Despite the 1949 Lebanese-Israeli truce agreement and despite UN resolutions 425, 426, and 509 which call for Israel's unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon and which were voted for by the five superpowers, namely the United States, the Soviet Union, China, France, and Great Britain, these powers, especially the United States, haven't been able to compel Israel to implement these resolutions.

[Hijazi] Do you expect anything at this level?

[Iddih] As long as the Israeli Army occupies South Lebanon, it can reach al-Awwali River north of Sidon at any time, and this is its objective. Israel hasn't abandoned its demand to exploit a part of al-Litani water. I am telling you now that a day will come when Israel will demand that Lebanon sell it a part of al-Litani water that goes to waste in the sea in the winter and in early spring. In my capacity as a former minister of water and electricity (1968), I instructed the late Ibrhaim 'Abdal-'Al to study the possibility of storing al-Litani River water so it wouldn't go to waste in the sea and of al-Hasbani River water so it wouldn't flow to al-Hulah, i.e. to Israel (former Palestine). But 'Abd-al-'Al was admitted to the hospital suddenly at the time and died, and it isn't known if Israel was behind his death.

[Hijazi] Hasn't anybody tried to complete the project since then?

[Iddih] After the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir and the Arab League decided to divert Arab water away from the occupied territories and from Tiberias, of course, and after we decided in Lebanon during President Charles Hilu's administration to divert al-Hasbani River water, a single Israeli aircraft came and hit the contractor's equipment and the Syrian Army tanks that had come to protect that equipment in accordance with an official Syrian commitment. Thus, the work was stopped. So Israel doesn't agree to see Lebnaon exploit al-Litani or al-Hasbani River water completely. When al-Litani project was discussed at one time, Imam al-Sadr and former Chamber of Deputies Speaker al-As'ad disagreed over the water level and no part of the project was carried out.

[Hijazi] Do you envision a certain future for Lebanon?

[Iddih] A total of 40,000 Syrian Army troops are present in Lebanon. I have made a distinction between the Israeli occupation and the Syrian presence as of the very first day because the Syrian Army entered at the request of the Phalangist Party in June 1976 and because all presidents since then have consented to this army's presence in Lebanon...

[Hijazi] You are criticized repeatedly because of the explosive statements you make all the time.

[Iddih] All my friends and adversaries know full-well that my main preoccupation all the time is political statements and interviews that serve one objective only, namely the liberation of Lebanon. There was a time several years ago when I was asked to form a government in exile. I contacted Kamal Jumblatt and met with Sa'ib Salam and Kamil al-As'ad but they all turned me down.

[Hijazi] Why?

[Iddih] Because they believed that they could serve their country better if they stayed in Lebanon. I told them repeatedly that no politician can serve his country when he is under occupation. Today, my friend Sa'ib Salam is in Geneva.

[Hijazi] Voluntary exile?

[Iddih] Yes.

[Hijazi] Do you talk to each other?

[Iddih] Every Sunday, especially since I have an open house every Sunday from 1130 to 1400. Every Sunday, anybody, be he a cab driver, a domestic, a cook, a university professor, or an engineer, and people from all walks of life, can meet us without an appointment.

[Hijazi] We thank you for your generosity.

[Iddih] No thanks needed. But don't forget to write down the interview and then to contact me so I can read it and we can introduce some final touches to it, taking no more than 15 minutes.

But because of the circumstances under which we were covering more than one issue in the French capital, we weren't able to fulfill our pledge. We contacted Iddih on the evening we were preparing to return to Beirut but the hotel reception told us that the doyen had asked not to be disturbed for a couple hours so he could rest. Consequently, we didn't have the opportunity to familiarize him with the interview before its publication. We apologize to the doyen and we owe him the duty of conveying honestly the spirit of the interview as it was.

'Awn on Politics, Iddih

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[Telephone interview with General Michel 'Awn, former Lebanese Army commander, by Muhammad Hijazi in Marseilles; date not given: "AL-SHIRA' Interviewed Him by Phone From Paris When He Declined To Receive Us at His Exile in Marseilles;" "Gen. Michel 'Awn: They Are All in Marseilles and I Alone Am in Lebanon"]

[Text] On the fifth try, he agreed to answer our questions.

In the first call, he welcomed AL-SHIRA' saying, "are you here. Bravo to you. You are brave and you say whatever you wish to say in Lebanon." But he declined to be interviewed and said, "I am in a state of exile and I cannot speak." After a short chat, he urged us to call

him in three hours during which he was to have "considered the matter." After pondering the question, his answer was, "no, it isn't time for me to speak. Let them talk, and then my turn will come. It isn't appropriate yet. My circumstances don't permit me to speak now. Please excuse me." When we pressed on him the need to know his position on some developments, he hastened to say, "call me next Friday, and we will see if anything will have changed by then."

[Hijazi] Changes in your position?

['Awn] No, in the developments.

[Hijazi] It is as if you are expecting something to happen.

['Awn] No, there is nothing definite.

[Hijazi] Before October 1990, you kept on implying that developments were going to occur, and then the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait took place and you were toppled. Do you expect any developments that would return you to Lebanon?

['Awn] I don't know. Let the circumstances talk.

A few days later, his wife answered our call and said, "I don't know where he is. I will give him the message when he comes." In the fourth call, we tried to persuade him to receive us at his residence in Marseilles but he declined because he is prohibited from meeting journalists. We suggested that we meet him without a camera and without a recorder, telling him that we would then take care of the matter in our own way. But he answered, "leave it for another opportunity, and I promise you that AL-SHIRA' will have something special."

[Hijazi] What is this special thing?

['Awn] Something distinctive and don't press me. I don't wish to comment on anything now.

I Am in Lebanon

At noon last Tuesday, we managed to make the fifth try stick. When we introduced ourselves, he said, "I regret to tell AL-SHIRA' that I decline to speak. Perhaps some other time."

[Hijazi] Is it reasonable that we talk to Doyen [the 'Arabic word for doyen also means brigadier general] Iddih and not to General 'Awn?

['Awn] (laughing) Are you trying to provoke me with ranks? If he has spoken, then let him. One does whatever suits one.

[Hijazi] And what suits you?

['Awn] I am fine as I am.

[Hijazi] Are you happy in your exile?

['Awn] What do you think?

[Hijazi] I can only hear you.

['Awn] And what do you notice?

[Hijazi] You still speak bluntly and sharply.

['Awn] I have been nothing but blunt all my life. The sharpness comes from the fact that I am a military man. But I am fine, God be thanked.

[Hijazi] What is your story with Doyen Iddih?

['Awn] I have stories with nobody.

[Hijazi] The doyen accuses you of supporting the al-Ta'if accord.

['Awn] Then why I am here. If it weren't for al-Ta'if, what would bring me here? I am here because I fought al-Ta'if.

[Hijazi] What about the statement that you made in support of the accord and that is published in LE FIGARO? The doyen insists that you deny it before he can be reconciled with you.

['Awn] I don't wish to deal with him. When I offer reconciliation, he says, "I don't wish to be reconciled." He is talking unilaterally and the problem is his problem.

[Hijazi] In an exclusive interview with AL-SHIRA', the doyen has said that he faults you for surrendering when you were military commander.

['Awn] Why do you insist on starting a fight between me and the doyen. History is the umpire and time will reveal the facts to everybody. It will then become obvious who was right and who was wrong, who was a traitor and who was a coward

[Hijazi] You speak of time. More than a year and a half have lapsed on your exile, so when will we know the truth?

['Awn] Don't rush anything. Just a little more time remains.

[Hijazi] It is as if you are referring to some of the slogans raised by your supporters in Beirut, such as "'Awn will return."

['Awn] You in the journalistic profession want everything to be ready.

[Hijazi] Do you know that the slogan is raised in the Armenian areas where they say, "Awn, she is returning" [making fun of the fact that Armenians confuse the masculine and the feminine in Arabic]?

['Awn] (laughing) The Armenians are oppressed.

[Hijazi] Do you regret that you are far from Lebanon now?

['Awn] To begin, I am not far from Lebanon. I am the only one in Lebanon and all those in Lebanon who call themselves officials nowadays are in Marseilles. They are all in Marseilles. I alone am in Lebanon.

Propaganda or Campaign

[Hijazi] It is as if you are entering the election campaign with these words.

['Awn] Absolutely not. No campaign and nothing of the sort. I am opposed to the elections.

[Hijazi] This is also the doyen's position.

['Awn] Let the doyen do whatever he wishes. I am speaking for myself. I am the only one inside. All those who are there are outside the country.

[Hijazi] You mean your supporters [are inside the country]?

['Awn] Of course.

[Hijazi] And how can you measure the true dimensions of this popularity?

['Awn] In a million ways.

[Hijazi] Is your faction organized?

['Awn] Don't say to me 'your faction.' Say 'our supporters.' I am a free Lebanese patriot who shoulders a responsibility toward an entire people. What you see on the ground from my people is a sincere spontaneous expression.

[Hijazi] Do you want us to believe that the movements are made, the demonstrations organized, and the slogans raised without supervision and direction?

['Awn] God knows.

[Hijazi] And what do you know?

['Awn] What I can say is that I have supporters in every Lebanese home. I know this well. You want to call this strength, popularity, or leadership, you are free to do so.

[Hijazi] You mean to say that you aren't running everything from Marseilles?

['Awn] I don't know. But all the intelligence agencies existing on Lebanon's soil cannot tell what is going on..(laughs)..It is even possible the intelligence chief's son is working for me without his father's knowledge.

[Hijazi] From where do you get all this confidence?

['Awn] Haven't I said that I am the only one in Lebanon?

[Hijazi] Why haven't you proclaimed a party or a grouping which you head and you run openly?

['Awn] What I have gotten is more important than these names.

[Hijazi] But Beirut's walls are covered with the names of movements, groupings, and parties that symbolize you?

['Awn] These are designations used by those who support my projections so they can identify each other.

Khomeini

[Hijazi] We have learned you were reading Churchill's works during the battles you waged, especially when you were in the B'abda shelter.

['Awn] True.

[Hijazi] It also seems that you have read the Iranian revolution's history, as indicated by the fact that you rely on cassette and video tapes that are passed to Lebnaon constantly.

['Awn] Of course. I have always read extensively. Imam Khomeini is a figure I respect. As to why I use cassettes, the answer is with those who rule you.

[Hijazi] Whom do you mean?

['Awn] You don't know who rules you? Unbelievable! The country swarms with those whom the people call officials.

[Hijazi] Weren't' you an official one day?

['Awn] Say for days. How long did I stay in the palace?

[Hijazi] And what about the shelter?

['Awn] I am an officer and I must protect myself.

[Hijazi] We have heard that you are writing a book.

['Awn] Untrue.

[Hijazi] And what is the truth?

['Awn] Don't you know that I am gagged and that, moreover, it is prohibited to publish my name? What are you going to do with what I am saying?"

[Hijazi] We will publish the conversation we are having with you.

['Awn] You people in this magazine perplex me. It is as if you are afraid of nobody.

[Hijazi] We are simply practicing the profession.

['Awn] Fine. I depend on cassettes because free expression is non-existent. What I say will go through channels which you know. I dare and say what I want to say. But who dares publish or broadcast what I say?

[Hijazi] Are you emulating the method with which Imam Khomeini returned from Paris to his country?

['Awn] Why not?

[Hijazi] Are you revealing a secret?

['Awn] How?

[Hijazi] It is as if you are saying that arrangements are being made for your return.

['Awn] By God, if they take me to court, nobody will interrogate me the way you are interrogating me with your questions. I have told you "why not," which means that it is likely. Who knows?

[Hijazi] Nobody knows this issue better than you do. Aren't you the one concerned with it?

['Awn] I have no answer.

[Hijazi] We have another question along the same lines. How true are the reports about contacts being made with you to find you a place in the Lebanese political equation?

['Awn] Nobody can determine a place for me. My place is all of Lebanon. Besides, who told you that I have to tell everybody what I am doing here and with whom I talk?

Reconciliation

[Hijazi] Then let us talk about those you have met openly, meaning the Maronite reconciliation delegation.

['Awn] What about them?

[Hijazi] They came to you and you sent them away disappointed.

['Awn] What reconciliation are they talking about? And who has said there are only Maronites in Lebanon? I am currently speaking and working for a free and independent homeland.

[Hijazi] And what did you tell them?

['Awn] I received them and saw them off.

[Hijazi] Aren't you concerned with the fact that the Christian arena is void of an authority or a leadership?

['Awn] I am opposed to religious authority and partisan political authority. I am for a national authority and against any foreign alliances that can harm the country. The concern of all those who are present currently is influence and power, not the homeland. They are like

dummies, trivial. Unlike them, I don't devour the homeland's remains or the homeland's corpses. They are vying to share the homeland's corpses.

[Hijazi] If the homeland is a corpse, then who are you working and struggling for, General?

['Awn] Their homeland is a corpse, not mine.

[Hijazi] Does each of us have a homeland? Is there more than one Lebanon?

['Awn] What I mean is symbolic. I work to restore the true image of a real homeland, not a homeland mortgaged to the outside world and ruled by the outside world.

[Hijazi] But aren't you abroad?

['Awn] My body is here abroad. But as a concept, a presence, a force, and influence, I am present in Lebanon. As I have already told you, I am the only one there.

[Hijazi] But you are in France, the friendly France, General. So why do you find it too much if others also have friends abroad?

['Awn] When I was there, I didn't rule in France's name. But the others' friends are the ones who rule Lebanon currently. Everybody knows these friends. If we have to be frank, then I will declare that nobody has ever told me what to do. I proceed on the basis of my convictions.

[Hijazi] The thing for which you have been long faulted is your failure to consult.

['Awn] I consulted extensively.

[Hijazi] But in practice, you didn't apply the advice.

['Awn] This is normal. A person in charge or a commander listens to other opinions and then he determines what is appropriate.

President

[Hijazi] Do you aspire to become president of the republic?

['Awn] What republic?

[Hijazi] The third republic.

['Awn] Of what country? There is no country now. There is nothing standing in Lebanon. When we regain the homeland, we will talk about aspirations. Now, our sole aspiration is to restore a free, sovereign, independent, and healthy Lebanon.

[Hijazi] But nobody doubts that you have such an aspiration.

['Awn] In one, and only one, case: When power is in the people's hand and if I am elected by the people. Only then will I be satisfied and at peace with the people and with myself.

[Hijazi] Now that you have mentioned election...

['Awn] Please, forget the election issue.

[Hijazi] Does it annoy you this much?

['Awn] Very much, because they are against the country and against all symbols of the country's unity. How can we accept elections under the threat of a foreign rifle!

[Hijazi] It has been said that you have candidates.

['Awn] I am opposed to the elections in part and parcel and I urge the Lebanese to boycott them if they are held.

[Hijazi] Assuming that what you don't want happens and that the elections are held, then whom would you nominate?

['Awn] (laughs) It cannot be told.

[Hijazi] Is the name a surprise?

['Awn] It cannot be told.

[Hijazi] Why?

['Awn] Now isn't the right time.

[Hijazi] You have made direct statements in this dialogue. Why shouldn't we carry on in the same way?

['Awn] No, I cannot disclose everything.

[Hijazi] And what about the country? Are you optimistic regarding its near future?

['Awn] Not at all. Lebnaon is heading for more deterioration. As for the distant future, we implore God to protect it. ..Hey, it looks as if it is going to be complete interview with you on the phone"

[Hijazi] This is what we requested in the first place. But it has been our wish to visit you to find out how and in what climate you live.

['Awn] How do I live? Like everybody else.

[Hijazi] You sound energetic and your morale seems to be high.

['Awn] We thank God. We are opposed to crises. I don't imagine that a responsible figure has ever experienced what I experienced during the short period I spent in power. God willing, good things are ahead of us.

[Hijazi] How do you spend your days?

['Awn] Doing ordinary things. I exercise a little bit. I ponder things. I read, I think, I write. I spend time with the family, and so forth.

[Hijazi] And you have gotten your daughter married off.

['Awn] Yes, God be thanked. It wasn't long ago. Just a few weeks ago.

[Hijazi] Is it true that you will be moving to Lyon soon?

['Awn] No, nothing of the sort but perhaps to Lebanon directly.

[Hijazi] Between one question and another, you slip in the repatriation issue. Is there anything new that you have to say in this regard?

['Awn] Nothing at all. I have told myself, perhaps you won't ask me for every word.

[Hijazi] It is the only way to make you disclose more of what you have.

['Awn] What I have given you is the maximum of what I have.

[Hijazi] Have you really brought with you some cassettes, records, and some songs that were recorded for you personally?

['Awn] What is this? It seems as if you have been spying on me. What do I want with all these things?

[Hijazi] For memories—the memory of past glory.

['Awn] The glory will return.

[Hijazi] It sounds like a new slogan that goes with "'Awn will return."

['Awn] Our words are deeds.

[Hijazi] You said a lot when you were in power. But what did you do?

['Awn] History will judge. History will do me justice against all those who make the conclusions they wish to make.

[Hijazi] Samir Ja'ja', your latest adversary, knew how to stay in Lebanon. Why didn't you?

['Awn] Without revealing secrets, I have told you that time will reveal everything. I don't plan to talk about the past at this time. I am working for Lebanon's future.

[Hijazi] You don't even wish to talk about him (Ja'ja')?

['Awn] He isn't worth it.

[Hijazi] We have noticed that you answer the telephone personally, without a telephone operator or aides.

['Awn] Currently, I am an ordinary person and I respect the country that has hosted me. In any case, I have been down to earth all my life.

[Hijazi] Is this why you renamed the Republican Palace "the People's Palace"?

['Awn] It is truly so.

[Hijazi] Do you have anything to say to those who supported your slogans in the past?

['Awn] They are still supporting them because I am the only right one in this maelstrom. I told those who are with me that I wanted my country to be free and I fought as an honorable soldier for its freedom.

[Hijazi] You haven't mentioned politics.

['Awn] Because I am a soldier and I don't understand politics.

[Hijazi] Is this why you failed?

['Awn] No comment. You people in AL-SHIRA' speak the way you right. It seems that you, too, are soldiers.

[Hijazi] But we understand politics.

['Awn] Also in your work! Listen to me, I will tell you for the thousandth time that I don't wish to talk about what happened. When the right time comes, you will be all surprised.

[Hijazi] So what do you wish to tell us?

['Awn] I greet all honorable Lebanese citizens and urge them to boycott the elections and to be patient with the circumstances under which they live currently.

[Hijazi] At least, there is no shelling, General.

['Awn] At the time, there was a war. But what exists now?

[Hijazi] On the mention of war, I recall you personally when you were commander of the Second Artillery Battalion in the Sidon Barracks. I was a reserve student [cadet] with you. I will tell you frankly that based on the

impression I have of you from that time, it wouldn't occur to me that you could play a role in Lebanon's modern history.

['Awn] You mean that I didn't show that I could do what I did?

[Hijazi] Yes.

['Awn] This is how the world turns. And when you called me the first time, I couldn't imagine that you would ask me all these probing questions.

[Hijazi] Do you have anything you want to convey through us to Lebanon before we put the receiver down?

['Awn] Godspeed. I have never lost contact with Lebanon for a single day. My line with Lebanon is always open. A personal greeting to Mr. Hasan.

[Hijazi] Thank you.

['Awn] For nothing.

This is how the telephone interview with Gen Michel 'Awn ended. He continues to talk with the same confidence to which he made us accustomed when he assumed power in Lebanon. We are certain that he is in his exile in Marseilles. But he insists that he alone is in Lebanon and that everybody else is in Marseilles.

Reports on Nominations for Parliamentary Elections

Initial Reports

92AE0571A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 5 Aug 92 p 2

[Article: "Election Candidates Bourse Closes at 62"]

[Excerpt] Beirut—AL-HAYAH—At noon yesterday, the parliamentary election candidate bourse closed at 62 candidates, considering that 24 candidacy applications were registered yesterday, including one by a cabinet minister, four by deputies, and an application for a seat in Beirut Governorate.

The candidates who submitted their applications yesterday are Muhammad 'Ali 'Awadah, 'Abd-al-Hasan 'Abd-al-Karim 'Awdah, Suhayl Sa'dallah Hamadah, Ahmad Tawfiq Sulayman, Muhammad 'Ali al-Sayyid Qasim, Hasan 'Ali 'Awadah for the Shi'ite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil, appointed Deputy Wajih al-Ba'rini, Muhammad Mashhur for the Sunni seat in 'Akkar, Ahmad Sulh for the Sunni seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil, Marwan Faris Faris for the Greek Catholic seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil, appointed deputy Eli al-Farzali for the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya, George George al-Harawi, also known as Khalil, for the Maronite seat in Zahlah, Mahmud Muhammad 'Ali Qasim al-Samad, Deputy Hamad Muhammad 'Ali Qasim al-Samad, Deputy Salih Kazim al-Khayr, As'ad Ahmad Harmush, Ahmad 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Ubayd, Ibrahim Khalil al-Gharib for the Sunni seat in the rural Tarabulus [Tripoli] District-al-Shamal, Riyad Niqula Rahhal for the Greek Orthodox seat in 'Akkar-al-Shamal, Cabinet Minister Sulayman Antoine Franjiyah for the Maronite seat in Zgharta-al-Shamal, Ra'id Durbas Faris for the Sunni seat in 'Akkar-al-Shamal, Taha Naji, Fathi Yakan, and 'Abdal-Razzaq al-Asmar for the Sunni seat in Tripoli—al-Shamal, and 'Adnan Khadr al-Tarabulusi for the Sunni seat in Beirut.

Yesterday, the Lebanese Communist Party announced officially the nomination of Sa'dallah Mazra'ani and Dr. Ahmad Murad for the two Shi'ite seats in Marj'uyun and Bint Jubayl. The announcement was made at a press conference held in Kfar Rumman by party Political Bureau Member Karim Muruwah and candidates Mazra'ani and Murad.

Amal Movement Chairman Minister Nabih Birri met yesterday with Communist Party Secretary General George Hawi who has assured us that "in the context of election alliances, we take principles into account first, and then interests. We are in evident agreement with the brothers in Amal on the principle of turning the election campaign into an occasion to reinforce the struggle against the Israeli occupation..."

Hawi also spoke of "agreement with brother Nabih, especially in the south, provided that this is translated into principles." He also wished that better preparations were made for the elections and urged the opposition to take a positive stance and to participate in the elections with opposition lists.

At its meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Minister Walid Junblatt, the Executive Office of the Progressive Socialist Party [PSP] Election Committee supported the candidacy of Khalil 'Abd-al-Nur, the brother of Deputy Salim 'Abd-al-Nur, the National Struggle Front member, for the Greek Catholic seat in al-Shuf and the candidacy of Samir 'Awn, the son of the late 'Aziz 'Awn who was member of the Leadership Council, for the Maronite seat in al-Shuf.

It has been noticed that the newly-introduced Druze seat in Beirut Governorate has attracted the attention of numerous Druze candidates, the most prominent of whom are 'Isam Nu'man, 'Ismat Sa'b, 'Abbas al-Halabi, Rashid al-Qadi, Fu'ad al-'Ud, Sami Yunis, 'Adnan Sha-'ban, and Raja Wahhab, keeping in mind that none of them has yet applied for nomination officially. [passage omitted]

Al-Biga' Governorate Data

92AE0571B London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 6 Aug 92 p 2

[Article by Muhammad Shuqayr: "Time of Reconciliation: Al-Khatib, Murad, Roy al-Harawi, and Skaf; Zahlah and al-Biqa' al-Gharbi Lists Decided; Direction Lost in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil"]

[Text] Close associates of the makers of coalition lists in al-Biqa' Governorate (Zahlah, al-Biqa' al-Gharbi, Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil Districts) say that contacts made far from the limelights have produced an understanding in principle on the candidates to wage the election battle in Zahlah and al-Biqa' al-Gharbi Districts. This is in contrast with Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil District where the current negotiations have produced no tangible results.

In this regard, AL-HAYAH has learned that the expedited reconciliation achieved by Damascus between Interior Minister Major General Sami al-Khatib and appointed Deputy 'Abd-al-Rahim Murad under the auspices of Syrian Vice President 'Abd-al-Halim Khaddam has been behind the accelerated understanding reached among leaders of the coalition list for al-Biqa' al-Gharbi District. This list will be announced in a few days.

An al-Biqa' leader has asserted that the reconciliation between al-Khatib and Murad had faltered on earlier occasions and that Damascus' involvement in this reconciliation has opened the door for forming a coalition list.

This leader has also said that al-Biqa' al-Gharbi list will include, in addition to al-Khatib and Murad, appointed deputies Eli al-Farzali (Greek Orthodox), Mahmud Abu-Hamdan (Shi'ite), Faysal al-Dawud (Druze), and Attorney Robert Ghanim, the son of ex-Army Commander General Iskandar Ghanim (Maronite).

It is believed that agreement to form the above list doesn't mean that it will be difficult to form a rival list or to have this list penetrated by strong candidates, such Deputy Michel Ma'luli, the Chamber of Deputies Vice-Speaker, Ziyad Shibli al-'Aryan, and current Deputy Husayn Mansur who has shunned the battle for Zahlah District and decided to return to Mashgharah, his birthplace, to run for the Shi'ite seat.

It has also been reported that contacts are underway to discuss the possibility of announcing a rival list on the one hand and to persuade Deputy Husayn Mansur not to nominate himself or his son, Hassan Mansur.

Regarding Zahlah District, the leader from al-Biqa' revealed to AL-HAYAH that Muhsin Dallul has ultimately succeeded in reconciling Eli Joseph Skaf and appointed Deputy Roy al-Harawi and that the understanding between the son of President Ilyas al-Harawi and the son of Joseph Skaf, the late leader of al-Biqa', is likely to strengthen the possibility of forming a coalition list.

It is the assessment of the leader from al-Biqa' that the Zahlah list will be announced shortly and he finds it unlikely that a surprise will crop up to impede its prompt formation, especially since Skaf has backed down on some of his conditions, including his insistence that he get a share of the coalition list and that representation of the "Skaf tendency" not be confined to his person.

According to the reports, Skaf demanded at the start of the negotiations that he be given a special share and that he wanted it to be conditional that he be given the final say on selecting the other Greek Catholic candidate for Zahlah, in addition to the candidate for the newly-introduced minorities seat.

Details of the negotiations led by Minister Dallul are not known. Dallul met with the president of the republic two days ago and acquainted him with the concluded agreement "that is about to be announced." The list is supposed to be as follows: Eli Skaf and Niqula Fattush (Greek Catholic), Muhsin Dallul (Shi'ite), Roy al-Harawi (Maronite), Minister Fakhuri (Greek Orthodox), and appointed Deputy Muhammad 'Ali al-Mays (Sunni).

As for the candidate for the newly-introduced minorities seat, agreement on the final name depends on the outcome of the negotiations that are going on in light of the Tashnaq [Armenian Orthodox] Party's determination to regain the Beirut seat occupied by appointed Deputy Antoine Shadir.

The Beirut minorities seat could be reserved for the Phalangist Party to encourage it to enter the race. In return, the Armenians in Zahlah could be appeased by allotting the newly-introduced seat to the Tashnaq Party in the coalition list.

It is to be noted that Skaf had objected to including Niqula Fattush in the coalition list on behalf of the Greek Catholics but that he has changed his mind now.

It is natural that agreement on the names of the candidates in the coalition list who will run for election in Zahlah District will reflect positively on the current endeavor to lessen the undeclared tension dominating the president's relationship with Chamber of Deputies Speaker Husayn al-Husayni.

The situation in the Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil District remains undetermined in light of the fact that no understanding has been reached on the nucleus of the coalition list which will be headed by Speaker al-Husayni.

The "loss of direction" in Ba'labakk is due to disagreement between Zahlah and al-Biqa' al-Gharbi Districts because of many reasons, especially:

The many candidates planning to run for election. Most of them have applied for nomination officially and haven't been content with their wall nominations, i.e. with pasting their pictures to walls, as they do in Beirut where most of the "unknowns" are content with their paper nominations, meaning with hanging their pictures on the walls of the city's streets, quarters, and alleys.

The failure to develop an understanding between Speaker Husayn al-Husayni and the forces that consider themselves candidates on the one hand and, on the other hand, Hizballah which demands a distinguished share of the Shi'ite representation and refuses to be represented symbolically. Moreover, Hizballah insists that its opinion be taken in the selection of other non-Shi'ite candidates.

Hizballah has nominated for election in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil District four candidates whose names were announced by Hizballah Secretary General Hasan Nasrallah at a press conference he held yesterday; namely, Ibrahim al-Sayyid Ibrahim (also known as Ulema Ibrahim al-Amin, Hizballah's first secretary general), Shaykh 'Ali Taha, Shaykh Khadr Tulays, and Hajj Muhammad Hasan Yaghi (also known as Abu-Salim). It is the belief of al-Biqa' people that by nominating a large number of candidates, Hizballah is trying to lay the groundwork for entering into negotiations that have begun to take a regional direction with the arrival of a high-level Iranian delegation in Damascus.

One al-Biqa' leader has said that Hizballah is waging its election battle on two fronts now: On an internal front against those who do not favor participation in the elections under the auspices of a political regime which Hizballah opposes and on a negotiation front with the purpose of piercing the principle which says that Hizballah's representation will be confined to two members in the Chamber of Deputies, one representing Tyre District in the south, namely Shaykh Hasan Habballah, and the second representing Ba'labakk District. Hizballah will wage this battle in an endeavor to improve the conditions that open the door for it to enhance its image in the public opinion's eyes.

This al-Biqa' leader believes that Hizballah's propaganda machine, to which the entire party leadership has contributed, has successfully enabled the decision to participate to prevail over the decision to shun the elections which has been advocated by a number of prominent Hizballah figures who have been implying

that they can absorb the regime from within instead of allowing the regime to absorb them.

Status Report—5 Aug

92AE0571C London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 6 Aug 92 p 3

[Article: "Grace Period for Submitting Applications Amended; Candidate Bourse Rises to 104"]

[Excerpts] Beirut—AL-HAYAH—The parliamentary election candidates bourse closed at 104 yesterday. A total of 41 candidates, including two cabinet ministers and nine deputies, have registered their applications at the Political and Administrative Affairs Department.

The new candidates are: Appointed Deputy 'Ali Ahmad Ja'far, 'Ali Mustafa al-'Uraybi, 'Ali Husayn 'Abdallah, 'Abbas Muhammad Yaghi, Rakan Mustafa Dandash, Diyab Husayn Muhyi-al-Din, 'Ali Hasan Nasir-al-Din, Husayn Muhammad Sulayman Haydar, Hamad Dib Mushayk, Sami Hasan Wahbi, Deputy 'Abd-al-Mawla Amhaz, Muhammad Nayif al-Sahili, al-Sayyid Ibrahim al-Sayyid, Muhammad Hasan Yaghi, Shaykh 'Ali Hasan Taha, Muhammad Majid Sabri Hamadah for the Shi'ite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil; Cabinet Minister Major General Sami al-Khatib and appointed Deputy 'Abd-al-Rahim Murad for the Sunni seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya; appointed Deputy Mahmud Abu-Hamdan for the Shi'ite seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya; Minister Shawqi Fakhuri and Yusuf Qaysar Rizq al-Ma'luf for the Greek Orthodox seat in Zahlah; 'Ali Muhammad Mita for the Sunni seat in Zahlah; Fawzi Muhammad Matar, Akram Muhammad al-Murad, Ahmad Shawqi Fatfat, appointed Deputy 'Umar Musaykah, 'Umar Ahmad al-Murad, 'Adnan Sharif Danawi, 'Abd-al-Hamid Yakhni for the Sunni seat in al-Shamal, Deputy Dr. 'Abdallah al-Rasi, Riyad Ibrahim al-Ma'luf, Fayiz Michel Ghusn, and Farid Nabil Mukari for the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Shamal; appointed Deputy 'Abd-al-Rahman and appointed Deputy 'Abd-al-Rahman 'Abd-al-Rahman and appointed Deputy 'Ali 'Id for the 'Alawite seat in al-Shamal; 'Ali 'Adil 'Usayran for the Shi'ite seat in the south; 'Adnan Ahmad 'Arakji for the Sunni seat in Beirut; and Muhammad Tariq Qa'idbayh for the Druze seat in 'Alayh. [passage omitted]

It has been learned that Ambassador Khalil Kazim al-Khalil will resign from his public job to run for election and that Nadim Samih 'Usayran will run for election in al-Nabatiyah District.

The (pro-General Michel 'Awn) Unified Resistance Movements have issued a statement under their signature in which they express their opposition to the elections and warn of the perils of participating in them, whether as candidates or as voters.

Nominations Exceed 260

92AE0571D London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 7 Aug 92 p 2

[Article: "Candidate Bourse Follows Financial Bourse, Rising by 61 and Closing at 165"]

[Text] Beirut—AL-HAYAH—The candidate bourse has kept up pace with the rise in the financial bourse. Yesterday, the former closed, according to an official Ministry of Interior leaflet, at 165 candidates but "atoned for its sins" by bringing the public treasury a

total of 1.65 billion Lebanese pounds. The Interior Ministry's Political and Administrative Affairs Department registered yesterday 61 new nomination applications, including applications by a deputy with an extended term and by four appointed deputies. The new candidates are: Yahya Muhammad Shams, Rida Muhammad Ra'd, 'Ali Husayn Nun, Hayyan Salim Haydar, 'Akif Zaki Salim Haydar, Hani Tawfiq Isma'il, Husayn Subhi Kan'an, Muhammad Shafiq Rabah, Husayn 'Ali Zu'aytir, Mahdi 'Ali al-Hajj Hasan, and Razzah Khalil Ra'd for the Shi'ite seat in Ba'labakkal-Hirmil.

For the Sunni seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil: Suhayl Hasan al-Fuwayti, Ibrahim Sulayman Bayan, Muhammad Ahmad Dirgham, and 'Isa Mahmud al-Hajari.

For the Greek Catholic seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil: Wadi' Emile Zahir.

For the Maronite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil: Michel Tannus al-Naddaf.

For the Greek Catholic seat in Zahlah: Ghassan Dib al-Naddaf, Ilyas Joseph Skaf.

For the Sunni seat in Zahlah: Muhammad 'Ali al-Mays, Khalil Muhammad al-Harati.

For the Greek Orthodox seat in Zahlah: Raymond George Qassarji.

For the Shi'ite seat in Zahlah: Muhammad 'Ali Abu-Hamdan.

For the Sunni seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Muhammad Sa'id Salih, Hashim Muhammad Hashim, and 'Ali Husayn al-Hajj.

For the Maronite seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Henry Yusuf Shadid.

For the Sunni seat in al-Shamal: Mahmud Rashid al-Murad, Faruq Husayn al-Samad, Dr. Jamil Ahmad al-Sabbah, Muhammad Yahya Yahya, Deputy Talal al-Mar'ibi, 'Abd-al-Nasir 'Abd-al-Hamid, Tariq Shafiq al-Hilu, Fu'ad Ghalib al-As'ad, Khadr Rashid Hawwat, Ahmad Rashid Musa, Ahmad Isma'il 'Allush, Muhammad Wajdi Jawdat al-Khalid, Rashid Tawfiq Dirbas, Ahmad Mustafa Karami, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Latif Kabbarah, Khalid 'Umar Zurayqah, Akram 'Ali al-Hajj Dib, 'Abdallah Husayn Jamal [or Jammal], Riyad 'Ali 'Abd-al-Razzaq, 'Uthman Mustafa Bashir al-'Uthman, and Hashim Mustafa 'Alam-al-Din.

For the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Shamal: Ramiz Antonius Ya'qub, Deputy Salim 'Abdallah Sa'adah, Khalil Tawfiq Diyab, Faris Mas'ad Bulus, Deputy Ilyas Shukri Saba, and Antoine Alfred Hasib.

For the Maronite seat in al-Shamal: Qaysar Farid Mu'awwad, Deputy Istifan Butrus al-Duwayhi, and ex-Deputy Sayid Khalil 'Aql.

For the Shi'ite seat in the south: Husayn al-Sayyid 'Abbas Abu-al-Hasan.

For the 'Alawite seat in al-Shamal: 'Ali Muhammad al-'Ali.

In the north, Dr. Ghassan al-Ashqar, member of the Doctors Union, has announced at a press conference in Tripoli that he will run for the Greek Orthodox seat in 'Akkar.

The PSP Election Committee's Executive Office decided at its meeting yesterday under the chairmanship of Minister Walid Junblatt to nominate 'Abd-al-Hamid Bulad for 'Akkar District in al-Shamal Governorate.

In a statement distributed on the occasion, appointed Deputy 'Abd-al-Rahim Murad has announced that he will run for election in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi-Rashayya District. His platform urges in part the need for the presence of an agricultural policy, for digging the Hammana tunnel, and for rehabilitating the transport and communications network.

Dr. Nasib al-Khuri announced that he will run for election to the Maronite seat in al-Shuf to "reaffirm the free and honorable Christian presence."

Al-Biga', al-Shamal Results

92AE0571E London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 8 Aug 92 p 2

[Article: "Candidate Bourse Exceeds 260, Including al-Husayni, Karami, and George Sa'adah"]

[Excerpt] Beirut—AL-HAYAH—The parliamentary elections candidate bourse registered 95 more new nomination applications by 16:00 PM yesterday, thus raising the total number to 260 applications, including applications submitted by Chamber of Deputies Speaker Husayn al-Husayni, ex-Prime Minister 'Umar Karami, Phalangist Party Chairman Minister George Sa'adah, six deputies, and one minister.

The grace period for applying at the electoral districts in al-Shamal and al-Biqa' Governorates ended yesterday.

The new candidates are: Speaker Husayn al-Husayni, Muhammad Muhammad al-Laqqis, Ahmad Muhammad Amhaz, 'Abbas 'Abbas Yaghi, Mushrif Sulayman Zu'aytir, Tariq 'Ali Murshid Dandash, Ahmad Hasan al-Husayni, Deputy Subhi Yaghi, Fadlallah Hasan Dandash, Hani Hasan Mushayk, 'Adnan 'Ajjaj Sharif, 'Asim Husayn Ra'd, 'Abbas 'Ali Salih al-Musawi, Mufdil Muhammad Sa'id 'Allu, Muhammad 'Abbas Shams, Akram Murhij al-Jammal, 'Ali Khadr al-Hajj Hasan, Khadr 'Ali Tulays, Husayn Sa'id 'Uthman, Ghazi Muhammad Da'as Zu'aytir, and Hasan al-Miqdad for the Shi'ite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil;

For the Maronite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil: Antoine Mikhayil al-Harawi, Tony Jirjis Iskandar, Ghazi Butrus Ja'ja', Tanyus Fahd Rahmah, Rabi'ah Subhi Kayruz, Munir Yusuf Rahmah, Nabil Nasr Kayruz, and Shawqi Salim Nujaym;

For the Sunni seat in Ba'labakk-al-HIrmil: Mahmud Muhammad Buraydi, Jamil Khadr al-Sulh, and Muhammad Tal'at Yusuf al-Rifa'i;

For the Maronite seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Robert Iskandar Ghanim;

For the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Deputy Michel Ma'luli;

For the Shi'ite seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Husayn Mansur and Ahmad Qasim Qamar;

For the Druze seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: 'Isam Kanj al-Halabi;

For the Sunni seat in Zahlah: Sami Ibrahim al-'Ajami, Zahmul Husayn al-Mays, and Najah Rif'at Qaz'awn.

For the Armenian Orthodox seat in Zahlah: Vartex Tchaberyan, and Artex Khushayan;

For the Greek Catholic seat in Zahlah: Walid Michel al-Shuwayri;

For the Shi'ite seat in Zahlah: Ahmad Mustafa al-Madbuh;

For the Maronite seat in al-Shamal: Deputy Jubran Tawq, Deputy Habib Kayruz, Manuel Jirjis Yunis, Deputy Na'ilah Rene Mu'awwad, George 'Aziz al-Murani, Nabih Mas'ad Ghanim, Qabalan Shibl 'Isa al-Khuri, George al-Khuri Antonius Ja'ja', Roger Jamal Dahir, and Minister George Sa'adah;

For the Sunni seat in al-Shamal: Khadr 'Abd-al-Latif al-Tallawi, Ahmad 'Ismat Fakhr-al-Din, Mahmud Tawfiq Tabbu, (ex-)Prime Minister 'Umar Karami, Minister Ahmad Sami Minqarah, Samir 'Umar Hawshar, Karam Ahmad al-Dahir, Khaldun Hasan Naja, Camille Nadim Murad, Muhammad Ahmad Mahmud Wahbi, Ghazi Muhyi-al-Din 'Abd-al-Majid Talib, 'Ali 'Abd-al-Qadir 'Alwan, Muhammad Khalid 'Id, 'Adnan Muhammad al-Jisr, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Haji, Dib Tawfiq al-Hawwat, Hasan Mahmud al-Kuk, Nasir 'Abd-al-Hamid al-Misri, Zuhayr Mustafa al-Hakam, 'Abd-al-Hamid Dib, Ahmad 'Umar Husayn al-Khayr, 'Abd-al-Karim 'Ali al-Mar'ibi, 'Abd-al-Qadir Kamil 'Alam-al-Din, 'Abdallah Hassunah, and Muhammad Wasif Fattal;

For the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Shamal: Sharif Rashid Saghiyah, George Dib, Niqula Fu'ad Ghusn, Zafir Yusuf Nasr, Ibrahim 'Abdallah Shuman, Ghassan Habib al-Ashqar, Qaysar Victor Khallat [or Khlat], Anistas William Kushari, Hanna Costantine [Qustantin] al-'Aynati, Khalil Jirjis Sa'd, Salim Ya'qub Habib, and Dr. Fu'ad Nasrallah al-Burji;

For the Alawite seat in al-Shamal: Mayiz Muhammad Muhanna;

For the Shi'ite seat in the south: Talal Muhammad Habib Bizzi;

For the Sunni seat in Mount Lebanon-al-Shuf: 'Ali Muhammad 'Ala'-al-Din.

In a related matter, the name of Husayn Dib al-Naddaf was reported erroneously as a candidate in the edition published two days ago. The candidate's correct name is Ghassan Dib al-Naddaf for the Greek Catholic seat in Zahlah.

Moreover, visitors to Chamber of Deputies Speaker Husayn al-Husayn have attributed to him the statement that he is considering moving to al-Biqa' to prepare for the election campaign and to stay there until after the elections. [passage omitted]

Nominations Continue

92AE0571F London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 9 Aug 92 p 2

[Article: "Candidate Bourse Resumes Activity Tomorrow"]

[Text] Beirut—AL-HAYAH—The parliamentary elections candidate bourse will resume its activity tomorrow, Monday, when the Administrative and Political Affairs Department will continue to receive nomination applications for the electoral districts of Beirut, Mount Lebanon, the south, and al-Nabatiyah. By yesterday, the number amounted to 283 candidates, of whom 275 are candidates in al-Shamal and al-Biqa'. Of the 275 candidates, 23 submitted their applications between the hours of 1600 and 2400 two days ago. Eight other applications were submitted to other electoral districts.

Because of a typing error, AL-HAYAH reported mistakenly yesterday that the number of candidates exceeded 360 whereas by 16:00 PM two days ago, the number stood at 260.

Nomination for parliamentary elections in al-Shamal and al-Biqa' Governorates closed at 2400 two days ago, with 275 applications submitted for 51 seats divided among the various sects.

The Ministry of Interior has noted that the grace period for withdrawing nominations in the two governorates ends at midnight on Wednesday, 12 August 1992. The number of candidates for al-Biqa' districts, which encompass 23 parliamentary seats, has amounted to 149 candidates. They are distributed as follows:

Zahlah District (seven deputies): eight Sunni candidates, five Shi'ites, three Maronites, three Greek Catholics, and three Armenian Orthodox.

Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil (10 deputies): 15 Sunni candidates, 71 Shi'ites, 12 Maronites, and four Greek Catholics.

Al-Biqa' al-Gharbi-Rashayya District (six deputies): Seven Sunni candidates, four Shi'ites, three Druze, two Maronites, and five Greek Orthodox candidates.

The number of candidates in al-Shamal Governorate, which encompasses 28 seats in a single electoral district that includes the districts of al-Batrun, al-Kurah, Zgharta, Bsharri, Tarabulus (Tripoli), 'Akkar, and Tripoli City, has amounted to 126 candidates, divided as follows: 76 Sunni candidates (for 11 seats), four Alawite candidates (two seats), 19 Maronites (9 seats), 27 Greek Orthodox candidates (six seats).

Between the hours of 16:00 PM and 24:00 PM two days ago, a total of 23 new candidate applications were submitted to al-Shamal and al-Biqa' Governorates and were distributed as follows:

For the Shi'ite seat in Zahlah: Husayn Muhammad Shams;

For the Shi'ite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil: 'Aql Sulayman Hamiyah, Husayn Muhammad 'Arrar, 'Umar 'Abbas Karkala, and Bara' Muhammad Ra'd;

For the Maronite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil: Deputy Tarig Habashi and Hassan Shihadah:

For the Maronite seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Nabih Mas'ad Ghanim;

For the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi and Rashayya: Fawzi Nasif al-Ma'luli and Fawzi 'Abbud;

For the Sunni seat in al-Shamal: ex-Prime Minister Amin al-Hafiz, 'Umar Kamil Masqawi, Ghassan Rafiq Adham, 'Abd-al-Hamid Mustafa Bulad, Muhammad 'Ali al-Danawi, Rashid Mustafa al-Muqaddam, and Muhammad Su'ud Hasan Ra'd;

For the Maronite seat in al-Shamal: Charles Hanna al-Khuri Ayyub, (journalist and owner of AL-DIYAR newspaper), appointed Deputy Jean 'Ubayd, and Salah As'ad Matar (Phalangist);

For the Greek Orthodox seat in al-Shamal: Emile Ibrahim 'Id (Phalangist), Jean Jabr Mufarraj (Phalangist), and Deputy Maurice Habib Fadil.

It is to be noted that the last application received by the Ministry of Interior's Administrative and Political Affairs Department was submitted by candidate Bara' Ra'd for the Shi'ite seat in Ba'labakk-al-Hirmil at 2355. At 0005, candidate Sasin Yusuf Sharbil arrived while Husayn Muzannar, the department head, was closing his office.

Sami Shu'ayb, the acting general director of the Ministry of Interior, has pointed out that "large-scale media coverage of the progress of the election process will begin as soon as the process is launched." Shu'ayb also drew attention to instructions which will be disseminated by the ministry to the citizens on the voting procedure.

Regarding the border strip, Shu'ayb said that "elections will be held in the villages adjacent to the district to which the border strip citizens belong" and that the security forces will supervise them. He added, "we are working now to obtain international assurances that the Israeli Forces and the South Lebanon Army militia will not interfere in the elections."

Shu'ayb toured the city of al-Nabatiyah yesterday in the company of al-Nabatiyah Governor Ghazi Zu'aytir to agree on the sites that will be designated as polling centers for the border strip.

About evacuee voting, Shu'ayb said, "they will vote in the villages within the jurisdiction of the district from which they were evicted and in the governorate center."

Regarding voting by emigres, Shu'ayb announced that the "issue has been decided in favor of giving whoever wishes to exercise his voting right to come to Lebanon and to vote on schedule."

He stressed that "strict instructions have been issued to suppress any premeditated sabotage and obstruction attempt," pointing out that an "appeals committee will be formed in the Chamber of Deputies to determine the impartiality of the elections. Customarily, the registration committees are impartial judiciary committees."

Ex-Minister Joseph al-Hashim announced that his demand to postpone the elections does not mean opposition or boycott. He pointed out several parts of the election law that need to be dealt with and urged the cabinet to discuss them in the session it will hold tomorrow.

Al-Hashim told al-Maqasid's Voice of the Homeland Radio that his motives for demanding amendment of the law include the variety of electoral districts that range from governorate to district, failure to form a constitutional council, the lack of voting boxes designated for evacuees, and asking such evacuees to go to al-Shuf, for example, to vote.

He asserted that the elections are an occasion for the country to stand fast, even if individuals fall, and not an occasion for individuals to ascend even if the country falls. He characterized the current Maronite leadership

as "farm roosters," adding, "I don't belong to (ex-President Amin) al-Jumayyil's tendency, (General Michel) 'Awn's tendency, or the Lebanese Forces tendency but to Joseph al-Hashim's unity-oriented tendency."

Regarding news of the election candidate lists, candidates, and movements, Minister Nabih Birri met yesterday in al-Musaylih with SSNP—Supreme Council Chairman In'am Ra'd.

The Popular Bloc list will be announced tomorrow at the residence of Ilyas Joseph Skaf in Zahlah. The list includes Ilyas Skaf, Niqula Fattush, Minister Shawqi Fakhuri, Minister Muhsin Dallul, appointed Deputy Roy al-Harawi, Muhammad Zahmul al-Mays, and Artex Hambarsom Khushayan.

A statement has been issued by the office of ex-Chamber of Deputies Speaker 'Adil 'Usayran saying that he has stepped aside "in order to nominate 'Ali 'Usayran (his son) for al-Zahrani area so he can serve Lebanon and society."

Ayyub Humayd, general director of the Ministry of Information, has decided to resign in order to run for office as a candidate on the list of Amal Chairman Minister Nabih Birri. He has said that he "will not return to the administration, regardless of the outcome of the election campaign."

Security authorities reported two days ago the detonation of an explosive charge under the car of the wife of Shahe Barsumyan, the minister of industry and appointed deputy, in al-Bayadah Quarter, al-Matn al-Shamali, causing material damage to the car.

Pictures...Pictures

It was noticed yesterday that there was concerted activity to hang candidate pictures on Beirut's walls, especially pictures of ex-Prime Minister Shafiq al-Wazzan, Minister Sami al-Khatib (candidate in al-Biqa' al-Gharbi), Sa'ib Matarji, Usamah Fakhuri, Ghazi al-Mundhir, 'Imad 'Akkawi, Muhammad Sa'id al-Ruzz, Nabil Muhyi-al-Din Sinnu, 'Adnan Tarabulusi, Samir Tarabulusi, Wahhaj al-Shaykh Musa, Sinan Barraj, Hamzah Muhammad Shatila, and Sa'd-al-Din Khalid who has distributed his picture with his father, Mufti Hasan Khalid who was assassinated with a car bomb. The pictures of al-Wazzan, Matarji, and Fakhuri are of record dimensions.

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